Remarkeable CONSIDERATIONS upon the Life, and Services Of *MOVNSIEVR VILLEROY.*

Together with Certaine Politicall Obſervations upon the fall of *SEIANVS.*

Tranſlated out of the Originals by

Sr. *T. H.*

LONDON,
Printed by *E. G.* for *Godfrey Emerſon*, and are to bee ſold at his ſhop, in Little *Brittaine* neere Alderſgate,
1638.

To the King.

SIR,

BEhold here the ruines of an excellent Fabrique, whence goodly, and rare pieces may be taken to beautifie new buildings. They are the wise observations of the most ancient of your Counsellors of state, during his six & fifty years service in the greatest state-affaires of your Crowne. They who account it no lesse glory to imitate merit, then to succeed to honours, wil make use of his example, as of a Torch enkindled

by Truth, the eldeſt daughter of light. If they follow him, and the blaſt of paſsion, or Intereſt make them not diſſolve, or ſlip aſide, your Maieſties good intentions may be ſeconded with happy counſels, and your deſires with great and glorious effects.

P. Mathieu.

Advertiſements.

HE who affords not honour to Mounſieur Villeroy, *denyeth it to vertue: I was preſent at the laſt was done him at Lyons in the Church of the Minims, and there heard his learned diſcourſe, whom* Henry the Great *ſo much had lov'd and eſteemed, who had beene for aboue foureteen yeares the Chryſoſtome of the Court, and of whom Fraunce may more truly ſay, then Greece of Pericles, that the Temple of Perſwaſion was ſeated on his lips.*

And although hee forgat nothing, which appertained to the merit, and dignity of this occaſion, yet cannot I thinke though

though he well acquitted himselfe, that I stand disobliged from what I owe to the memory of this man.

He reaped all that was exquisite, and excellent in this subject, I but gleane after him, yet it is sufficient I let it appeare, that as to model the pourtrait of Mercury at Athens, they tooke the picture of Alcibiades, so perfectly to delineate a states-man, we must make use of Villeroy.

Nihil obstat quò minùs typis mandetur, & cum utilitate legatur præsens Tractatus Petri Matthei, &c. 3 Ianuarij. 1636.

R. Weckherlin

HISTORICALL

OBSERVATIONS

Upon

The Life and Services

of

MOVNSIEVR VILLEROY.

HOW lively, and ſtrong ſoever the apprehenſion of a noble ſpirit be, it hath need of helpe, and direction, and the greateſt men ſeeke the aſſiſtance of thoſe who preceded, in that profeſſion they intend to purſue: It is to ſtand upon the higheſt degree of admiration, to imitate no man, and to be imitated by all. *Satrius Rufus* followed *Cicero*, *Cicero* found flowers of Greeke

 elquence

Eloquence in the actions of *Demosthenes*, who boasted to imitate *Pericles*; *Pericles* tooke *Pisistratus* for a paterne: and I verily thinke there is not any States-man will refuse to walke in the manage of affaires on the tracts of *Villeroy*, and derive profit from his experience.

The name of a States-man hath so large an extent, and participateth qualities so eminent, and excellent, that it meeteth with few subjects worthy of it. It onely belongs to him, who hath never blemished his reputation by any act of disloyalty: hath perfect knowledge of Men, of Affaires, and Countreyes, is knowing in all sorts of occurrences, yet thinkes not others ignorant; He presumes not to know all, he goeth not alwayes the same way, nor turnes out of a good one; he shewes nothing in his opinions, which relisheth of the impudence of flattery, or the baseneſſe of servitude; Hee suffers not his owne interest to out-run the publique; Hee never resolves on any thing out of passion, through mood, choler, or hastineſſe, (foure dangerous rockes of prompt and subtile wits.) Finally, there is order in his discourse, judge-

judgement in his writings, ſincerity in his opinions, conſtancie & ſilence in commands, diligence and facility in reſolutions.

ROYAL *Science*, which is called Reaſon of State, or politique Prudence, conſiſteth in a vigorous ſtrength of wit, and an abſolute experience in the manage of publique affaires; the knowledge of which is ſo hard, that life is too ſhort to underſtand it. Science comprehendeth thoſe things which tend to demonſtration and conſtancie; Prudence is practiſed in changes, and revolutions; the one walkes in the high way of Law and Reaſon, the other divides it ſelfe, and departs from the ordinary courſe.

For which cauſe *Henry the Great*, a little before his death (for ever to bee lamented) ſayd, that he then began to underſtand what rule was, nor had he learned it but from experience, which he tearmed his great Booke, wherein *No man long reades, who becomes not knowing*. So that as it is impoſſible to finde a Common-wealth, ſuch as *Plato* deſigned, or an Orator as *Cicero* repreſenteth, or a Captaine according to *Xenophon*, ſo it is impoſ-

sible to have a States-man accommodated with all things requisite to counsell a great Prince, or to assist to the Governement of a powerfull Republique.

FRANCE which was never barren in the production of men of this faculty, hath not seene any man who sooner began this profession, nor hath longer exercised it, then *Mounsieur Villeroy*, and if in the last Act of Life, the desire of Eternity had permitted him to thinke of the world, I make no doubt but he tasted this comfort, that hee left none behind him, who had served the King, and State longer, with more trust, or in greater occasions, then He. *Who is admired by all, cannot in his profession be compared with any.* A man must rise very high to attaine parts so transcendent.

He hath served five Kings, toyled six and fifty yeares, lived threescore and fourteene, saw the end of forraigne broyles, the beginning of civill. Hopes and Favours to encrease, Rise and Fall : *The Court-monster, which hath two hearts, and two tongues,* and is so fruitfull in change, so constant in inconstancy,

ſtancy, furniſhed him with examples, which he was able to apply to all ſorts of events.

HE came not alone to the Court, nor inconſiderately, to make up a fortune in that place: The wealth his grandfather left him: and the conſideration of the ſervices done by him to *King Francis* in *Italy*, and to his mother the Queene Regent in his abſence, had already raiſed him above a vulgar eſteeme, beſides the liberality of his father, and his marriage at eighteene yeares of age to the daughter of *Aubeſpine*, ſecretary of the Commands, and the moſt truſty of the Queene-mothers ſervants, gave him aſſurance, that nothing but time oppoſed his fortune.

It is a matter very difficult to raiſe it at Court, how induſtrious ſo ever one be, if a powerfull favour, or ſome notable ſervice lay not the foundations of it. How many brave ſpirits wither away for that they have not this ſunne in their Eaſt? They are gemmes, which loſe much of their value and luſtre by not being handſomely ſet.

HE likewiſe derived another maine ad-

vantage from his entring into affaires in this his firſt youth. *It is very hard to thrive at Court in the Evening.* What a deale of time to unclew ſo many webs? what watchings to arrive at repoſe? what affronts to meet with honour? what calumnies to get out of Envie? There are things harſh and uneaſie, which patience and cuſtome makes familiar, and ſupportable, and eſpecially a certaine annihilation of ones owne will. *Who thinkes to preſerve his owne will entire, ſhall never make great progreſsion in Court.* It is a priſon, at the entrance into which, armes muſt be layd downe, liberty, contentment, repoſe, and nothing retained but hope and patience. For which cauſe *Mounſieur Villeroy* ſo often layd, *That a man muſt never deſpaire at Court, and patience and importunity overcame all.*

QVEENE *Katherine*, who had ſo much judgment to make choyce of wits, ſuch liberality to oblige them, employed him in affaires, ſent him into Spaine, for performance of certaine Articles of peace made in the yeare 1559, and to Rome to Pope *Piut* the

the fourth, concerning the difference of precedencie, which had never been before diſputed againſt the moſt Chriſtian Crowne. It grieves me, that ſetting downe this, I am more than a hundred leagues diſtant from the originall of a letter written with his own hand, upon the occaſion of his embaſſage; had I meanes to relate ſome paſſages thereof, it ſhould appeare his underſtanding went on from the firſt, in a way quite other than ordinary capacities.

The prime peece in the equipage of a States-man, is, a good and ſolid judgement. Good wits with little labour, ſmall time, and much dexteritie, attaine their deſire: Other, who are dull and heavie, are like barren land, which the more it is cultivated, is the leſſe fruitfull, or as ignorant Mariners, who ſtill complaine of the ſea or the windes, & ſtrike not into the haven, but by accident. A Spirit free and prompt, underſtands himſelfe in Counſels, in Diſpatches and Affaires; and as he conceiveth matters in a different manner from others, ſo his words are not vulgar, they ſtill come to the poynt, and by wayes which leaſt appeare. He is ſubtile in arguments,

ments, quicke in replies, and eaſily apprehendeth: His reſolutions are perſpicuous, and cleare, He is not confuſed in diſcourſe, hath grace in things fayned, gravity in matters of truth: He knowes how to propoſe an affaire, to divide it, to purſue, and end it.

IN the beginning he had an eye very open to doe nothing contrary to good opinion. As reputation beginneth, it growes or declineth. Above all, integrity is to bee wiſhed, for all vertues are to little uſe, if that be wanting; It is the bottome of that veſſell, which breaking, all that is powred in, runnes thorough. *The words of an honeſt man counterpoiſe an oath*; He ſpeakes to men, as if he ſpake to God; He cals things by their owne names, openly favoureth good men, ſweetly adviſeth ſuch as erre, hath not an eare, for calumnies, ſlaunders, nor flatteryes, and if *diſſimulation* (*the new court vertue*,) be to be uſed, he doth it ſo ſoberly, that neither innocency, nor verity hath cauſe to complaine. He deſires not to make appeare all, what he can, to the hurt of any man.

AT

AT his returne out of *Italy*, the Queene-mother procured him the reverſion of *Aubeſpine*, his Father in lawes charge, and recommended his fidelitie and vigilancie to King *Charles* the ninth, who called him his *Secretary*, truſted him with his moſt inward thoughts, dictated to him a booke of Hunting, and certaine Poems; and among the reſt, that, which hee addreſſed to *Ronſard*, wherein he ſayth,

Ronſard, *thy wit more ſprightly is than mine,*
My body younger, abler much than thine.

Ronſards anſwer began in this manner.

Such as I am you (Charles) *ſhall be one day,*
Life hopeleſſe of returne, ſtill flies away.

But as nothing is wanting where the grace of God aboundeth, I am of opinion that not any thing ſo much furthered his advancement, as the firme, and conſtant zeale he maintained in Catholique Religion, in times, when the greateſt knowing men went out of the way, and novelliſme (which hath ſo powerfull charmes over the French) had corrupted many brave wits both in Schooles

and Parliaments. For after the conference of *Poissy*, the Edict of *Ianuary* having opened *Temple*, and permitted *Altar*, against *Altar*; and when the principall Cities of the Kingdome were surprized, there was such a tottering, that I have heard him say to *Henry the Great*, and to some elder than himselfe, that the Queene-mother to accommodate her selfe to the times, and to comply with the strongest, seemed not to be an enemy of this novellisme, and permitted testimonies of her affection to it in her Cabinet. *Necessitie is a violent, and rough Counsellor in affaires.*

This young man continuing stable in the way of Antiquitie, and abhorring this change, wherein ancient Discipline, and the Hierarchy, was scoffed at by those, who believed the way they pursued was the most assured for safetie, and the shortest to make a fortune, having powerfull protections in Court: but this constancie augmented the first affection which King *Charles* bare him. The good liking of Kings is acquired, or manured by such, as apply themselves to the first inclinations of their youth, or to the exercises & humours of their pleasures, or to the

encrease

encreaſe of their revenewes, or to the extent of their conqueſts. All other wayes are not ſure enough, and when one is arrived thither, the beſt is, that, of *Loyaltie*, and *Modeſtie*.

AT the age of 14. He alone executed the charge of *Secretary of State*, & that of the *Exchequer* being vacant, it was united to it. It was not at that time in ſuch ſplendor, and conſideration, as it is now. I have elſewhere made it appeare, that under *Lewis* the eleventh, there was no *Secretary of Commands*, as alſo that the firſt man in the Chamber received the command of expedition, which was reſolved and decreed between the King and the principall Lords of the Councell; in ſuch ſort, that many great actions were ſeene to be both ſubſcribed, and ſigned by ſundry Secretaries. But ever there was with the Prince ſome truſty man, who undertooke the care of the moſt ſecret reſolutions, and the diſpatch of the moſt important. Such was *Balue* under *Lewis* the 11th, *Briſonnet* under *Charles* the 8th, the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, & *Robertet* under *Lewis* the 12th.

THE Chauncellor *Hoſpitall*, and *Morvilliers*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, Keeper of the Seale, and *Aubeſpine*, Biſhop of *Limouſin*, three great men of this Age, who had the chiefe care of the Kings affaires, imparted their experiences to him, and enabled him, *To admire little, and to know much.* Diamonds are weighed againſt Diamonds, and wits are refined by wits in affaires, which preſſe forward, and tranſport the moſt heavie, and ſtupid natures, as Torrents carry along, & unlooſe the weightieſt ſtones. And as to become eloquent, the imitation of the moſt exact Pieces of auncient *Orators* ſhould be propoſed: ſo, to prepare a brave Spirit for *State-affaires*, the ſhorteſt way, is, the example of thoſe, who have long practiſed them. *More, men profit by example, and labour, than by precepts and diſcourſe.* But as great occaſions doe not perpetually happen to exerciſe the underſtanding, nor great capacities are ſtill found to handle great affaires; It is an infinite happines for ſuch as have eaſie acceſſe, and familiar converſation with thoſe able men, who being raiſed upon the higheſt Spheares of government, ſee, before other the

the ſtorme, and calme, at diſtance, judge of events, and know the ſource and ſequele of affaires: for as one is parched in the Sunne, and perfumed in odours, without much adoe, ſo ſuch frame their judgement upon all ſorts of reſolutions.

HE began his endevours upon great workes; at which time his Spirit, not poorely groveling upon inferiour things, rayſed it ſelfe by ſtrength of wing to the higheſt, as to its Center. *It is fit a States-man know the qualitie of his owne ſpirit, and extent of it.* There are ſome, who the more they are advanced, the leſſe appeare; and other, who will not admit ſo much light as to make themſelves to be well ſeene: for charges and buſineſſes diſcover men. *Some would bee thought worthy of a place, if they had it not.*

The compariſon of the diverſitie of Spirits, to that of ſtatues, is not amiſſe. The *Athenians* employed two excellent Sculptors, (*Phidias* and *Alcmenes*) to make the head of *Minerva*, and beholding them both together, after they were finiſhed, they ſcoffed at that which *Phidias* pourtrayed, it being but

roughly deſigned, and admired the other; which with unſpeakeable cunning, layd together all the moſt delicate & gentle touches.

But when they were rayſed upon two high Columnes, that, of *Phidias*, leſſening by diſtance to its due proportion, appeared to be exactly wrought, and *Alcmenes* his Piece, without forme, the height ſo taking away the beauty, that it ſeemed no other than a Bowle ill rounded.

There likewiſe are Spirits, which appeare according as they are more or leſſe exalted; ſome having not vigour enough, unleſſe they be perpetually in the ſupremeſt region of affaires, other goe not ſo high, and their ability mounteth but to a certaine degree, paſt which they are not knowne, and much adoe they have to know themſelves. *The head turnes, and the eyes dazle in high places.*

There were no ſlight affaires handled by the Kings Councell in thoſe times, all diſpatches were moſt important, and all Counſels tended to battailes, and victories. I have heard him ſay, that he was preſent at the making of the Edict of Pacification, in the firſt troubles in the yeare 1563. The difference of religion

religion, which had divided the *French* in Gods ſervice, divided them likewiſe in their ſervice to the King.

Hereupon were two great factions raiſed, of which religion was the pretext, and government the cauſe. The Councell of *Trent* held all the world in Sentinell. The paſſage of the Duke of *Alva* into *Flanders*, gave occaſion of feare to the one, and of courage to the other. After Queene-mother had yeelded up the power of Regencie to the King, ſhee let him ſee the Provinces of his Kingdome. The enterview of this Prince with the Queen of *Spaine* at *Bayon*, and the ſecret counſels held between Queene-mother, and the Duke of *Alva*, occaſioned great deſignes. The King being at *Meaux*, ſaw the forces of the Prince of *Condè* ſo neare, that he was adviſed to ſteale to *Paris* by night, under the conduct of the *Switzers*. There was a conference at Saint *Denis* between the Kings Deputies, the Chauncellor *Hoſpitall*, the Biſhop of *Orleans*, *Limouſin*, Saint *Sulpitius*, with *Mounſieur* the Prince of *Conde*, where *Villeroy* alſo was. It was wayted on by the battaile, wherein the *Conſtable* dyed; *Mounſieur* the Duke of

Anjou

Anjou was declared chiefe, and *Lieutenant* of the Army, *Aube-ſpine* dyed the next day, and *Villeroy* alone entred into charge, and the times furniſhed him with more buſineſſe, than was left him.

CHARLES the ninth ſent him to the Emperour *Maximilian*, upon the treaty of his mariage with the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*. This third voyage much holpe to diſpoſe and fortifie his judgement; ſo fit it is that ſuch as deſire to bee employed in great affaires, ſhould ſee forraigne Countreyes, eſpecially neighbours, which may become enemies. But if the curioſitie of ſeeing, be not accompanied with the affection of judging, and remembring what is ſeene, all the profit is loſt, and vapours away in meere vanitie.

It is not enough to admire rarities abroad, or to bee delighted with things pleaſing, it importeth to conſider, how they are governed in peace, and warre, how the Prince is ſerved, in what his forces conſiſt, what hee wanteth, how his fortreſſes are built, how provided with munition, and defended, how he entertaines his men of Armes, which way he

he may be aſſayled, or ſurprized; *Whether he have more wood to heat his Oven, than Corne to ſend to the Mill.*

Young men eaſily obſerve the vices of nations, and ſow the ſeeds of quarrels, when they upbrayd ſuch with them who paſſionately ſtrive to maintain the honour of thoſe nations, and who believe their owne is ſtill exempted from ordinary vices.

Ignorance of affaires both forraigne and domeſtique, is no leſſe ſhamefull in a Statesman, than in a Phyſitian, who nothing feares the temperature of mans body. An ignorance which many times leades Princes along into loſt deſignes, with ſuch blindneſſe, that they often make warre againſt thoſe, of whom they ſhould aske peace.

THE King foreſeeing the courſe of of his owne life would not bee long, recommended him to his brother, when hee was going into *Poland*. He died at *Bois S. Vincent*, and the affection he bare him, reduced him into his memory at that time, when hee had none at all for worldly matters. If this Prince made uſe of violent counſels, *Villeroy*

gave them not, for he many times told him, that the Prince who had more care to make himſelfe to bee feared than beloved, was ſure in the end to bee more hated than feared. *Feare is an ill Schoole of dutie.* This cruell, and abhominable word (Let them hate, ſo they feare) is not Chriſtian like; the very *Romans* knew it not but in the time of *Sylla.*

VILLEROY'S ſervice was preſently ſo neceſſary, that after the death of his firſt Maſter, hee was no leſſe favoured by the ſecond. Diſcovering the black clowd, which brake into a prodige of revolt and ſedition, he gave the King this juſt counſell, to reunite the Royall ſtock in one and the ſame beliefe, and deſigne, and not to divide *Catholiques*, that they might not acknowledge any other Prince for head but the lawfull.

Hee employed him, to get two men to come into the Court, who were moſt deare unto him, the Duke of *Allencon*, and the King of *Navarre*. *Ambition, which more conſidereth the ſcope of deſire, than dutie*, had taken from him the affection of the one, and novell opinions, contrary to ancient beliefe, had

had debauſhed the conſcience of the other. He ſent Queen-mother to them, and would have her to be aſſiſted by *Villeroy* in this negotiation. *It is a great happineſſe for a ſervant, when hee is employed to make an accord betweene the children of the family.*

HE was the firſt who had notice of the purpoſe of creating a *new order of Knighthood.* Perhaps he might have done beter to have reſtored, that, of *S. Michael* into grace, as the Emperour *Maximilian* hath been prayſed, to have rayſed, that, of the *Golden Fleece.* This Prince having other thoughts, inſtituted that, of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and believed *Villeroy*, who told him, that communicating it to few, it thereby ſhould bee the more illuſtrious. *A Prince ought to bee very retentive in conferring titles of honour, which are the true rewards of merit.* There was no reaſon to deny *Themiſtocles* the Crowne, who vanquiſhed the *Perſians* in the battell of *Salamina*, and give it to *Demoſthenes*, who fled out of the field.

IT is well knowne, how paſſions

ſwayed, and overflowed againſt this Prince, and how many writings inſolently free, were publiſhed againſt him; he cauſed the authors to be puniſhed, but it was contrary to *Villeroy's* advice, who had learned from the wiſe, that *Paper ſuffers all*, and that, *the more Satyrs and Pasquils are forbidden, the more they are ſought after.*

It is not the duty of a States-man to wound the minde of his Prince with all manner of bruites, nor to inflame his anger againſt thoſe, who invent or ſpread them to the prejudice of his reputation. There is no kinde of offence ought more to bee diſſembled, than that of *Tongues*, *Pennes*, and *Impreſſions*.

Generous ſoules account themſelves ſufficiently revenged, by letting it appeare they can be revenged. *Alexander* mocked at them, *Auguſtus* recompenſed them, *Tiberius* diſſembled them, *Titus* ſcorned them. *It onely is for great Kings to doe well, and heare evill.* Three good Emperours, *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, father and ſonnes, have on this left ſo divine a law, that it ſeemeth to have beene dictated by heaven. See it in *French*, as it is in *Latine*, in the ſeventh *Title* of the

ninth

ninth *Code. If any one through want of modeſtie, and exceſſe of impudence, believes hee is permitted to invade our reputation, by maligne and inſolent ſlanders, and (drunke) with paßion, becomes a detractor of our government, we will that hee for it bee not liable to any puniſhment, nor ſuffer any thing rough or rigorous: For if it proceed from levitie, hee is to bee pardoned; if from fury, he is to bee pitied. If from injury, it is to bee forgiven: and therefore wee will, that the entire knowledge thereof bee preſerved, to the end, that conſidering the qualitie of words by the perſons, wee may adviſe whether wee ſhould purſue or diſſemble them.*

COMPLACENCE is ſo familiar with Princes, that one had need to have a ſoule very religious, not to love better to pleaſe with *Truth*, than to be acceptable by flattery. *There is nothing in Kings Palaces ſo rare as ſimple truth.* An Archbiſhop of *France* ſayd oneday to Queen-mother, during the aſſembly of the generall States of *Paris*, *That it was now fiftie yeares that truth had not gone through the doore of her Cabinet* And another

other Biſhop preaching in the *Louure* laſt yeare, ſayd to the King, *That it entred not into Kings houſes, but by ſtealth, and through the windowes.* The Prince is much bound to a faithfull ſervant, who tells it him with confidence and diſcretion, and to be well ſerved it is fit he ordaine honours, and rewards tyed to the *Truths* told him, in doubtfull and important caſes, the concealing whereof would be prejudiciall.

Queene *Katherine* loved a certaine Lord of her owne Nation, *Villeroy* perceiving the Princes, and prime men of the Kingdome did complaine of it, and that ſuch complaints are ever the ſeeds of partialities, had the boldneſſe to beſeech her to moderate this affection, which ſhe did; and he whom ſhe affected, uſed ſuch modeſty & good diſcretion therein, *That his fortune was never ſubject to ill adventures, which alwayes meet with thoſe, who abuſe favour.*

King Henry the third after his returne out of *Poland*, was quickly weary of military exerciſes, ſuffering this his warlike humour to diſſolve in the delights and vanities, which peace bringeth. Hee inſtituted divers companies

panies of ſæculars, who lived, not alwayes, but for certaine houres, regularly. His principall retreat was at *Bois S. Vincent*, whither he drew the Nobility: and for that affaires followed him every where, hee would that, *Villeroy* who had the care of thoſe, which could hardly bee put over to the next day, ſhould take the habit as other, and ſhould have a peculiar place, as it were a parlour, to receive packets, and heare Courriers. But perceiving expeditions were retarded, hee ſayd to him as truly, as generouſly, (*Sir*) *Duties and obligations are conſidered according to time, and that is the cauſe why old debts ſhould be payd before new: you have beene King of France before you were head of this Companie, your conſcience obligeth you to render to regality, what you owe it, before you grant to the congregation, what you have promiſed it. You may diſpenſe with your ſelfe in the one, not in the other: you weare not Sackcloth, but when you liſt, but you have the Crowne on your head perpetually: and no leſſe weighty is it in this retirement, than in affaires. This is to ſpeake.*

A Prince cannot give too much time to pietie, *but hee muſt ſometime leave God for God,*

God, who permits himſelfe to bee found in affaires, and contents himſelfe with a good intention. Let heaven bee of braſſe for *France*; while pietie lives in the heart of its Kings, it ſhall need no other raine; no more than Egypt, which cares not ſince it hath the water of *Nilus* that fattens and refreſheth it.

But they ought to deſire it may be moſt pure, without art or inforcement, walking with head erected, without laying it on this or that ſide. It avoydeth theſe two extreames, *Impietie* and *Superſtition*. Many Princes by the one have braved God, and have thought ill of him by the other. *Impietie* blindeth the ſoule, *Superſtition* maketh it dull-ſighted. *Piety loves God, impiety contemnes him, as if he were a man: Superſtition feares him, as if he were not a God.*

SEEING this Prince loved ſolitude, and made his ordinary abode at *Paris*, he gave him counſell to ſend ſome principall Lords of his Councell throughout the Provinces, that his Majeſtie might there be ſeene by the effects of his juſtice, ſince they were deprived

deprived of the contentment of his preſence, imitating the Sun, who ſtirring not out of heaven, ſendeth his rayes thoroughout the world. If they be good men, and of quality, they every where advance the ſervice of the Prince, their words are ſo many flaming arrowes, which with their heat melt the Ice contracted in diſtant places.

A Prince cannot better preſerve the good will of his people, than by employing men, who onely affect a generall good. Of all the precepts which the Emperour *Charles* left to his ſon *Philip* the ſecond, this is obſerved to be the beſt. *That not being able to be in ſo many remote and diſtant places, he ſhould handle the matter ſo, as daily he might bee ſeene by his authority and juſtice, diſpoſing them in the hands of perſons of great innocencie and vertue, that his ſubjects might not have occaſion to bee ſory for his abſence.*

THE King who to bee revenged, purpoſed tragically to end the Aſſembly of the States of *Blois*, ſent him a Ticket of Retreat, for no other reaſon but for feare, leſt he and *Belieure* might divert him from his pre-

cipice; and leſt much depending on the Queene-mothers diſpoſe, they might give her ſome notice of it. For greatly hee feared the ſpirit of this mother, who had a great power over his, beſides, he ſaw not clearly into her practiſes. *The Spirit of Man is very hard to be knowne, but that of a woman never.* Hee thought the bloud of theſe two Princes would quench the fire they had enkindled; but he more redoubled the flame. For a while after, there was almoſt a generall revolt. The *Saturniall feaſts* were renewed, wherein ſervants became Maſters, and Gally-ſlaves no ſooner left the Oare at the ſignall given by the Captaine, but that the moſt obliged fell off from their duty. He then offered the King the continuation of his ſervice, which his principall ſervants forſooke; but hee, not underſtanding the weakneſſe of his own Counſels, imagined, hee might ſlip over a man ſo neceſſarie, and confident.

A Prince diggeth out his owne eyes, when hee inconſiderately ridds himſelfe of a ſervant, who knoweth his affaires. Almoſt all *Poland* had conceived an implacable hatred againſt *Garvaric* the Kings moſt faithfull Coun-

Counſellor, *Leſcu*, and *Blanc* threatning him to chooſe another King, if he baniſhed him not. *Garvarie* was content, and beſought the King to throw him into the ſea, ſince he was the cauſe of the Tempeſt, proteſting that hee not onely would willingly loſe his Countrey, but his life alſo for the ſafety of his Prince, and the Peace of his Countrey. *Leſcu* declared, *he had rather retire, and live as a private perſon, than ſtay in a kingdome under ſo unjuſt, and unreaſonable a condition.*

VILLEROY then, hoping neither for ſafety, nor protection, that way, caſt himſelfe on the ſide wherein his Father, his Sonne, his Wife, his Family, and his goods were. He much deſired to expect in one of his houſes till thoſe ſtormes might fall, but being unable to abide there, but at the diſcretion of the violence of the times, he was conſtrained to forſake the way of Iuſtice for the way of Prudence. *In inteſtine broyles, the worſt ſide is to be of none: In particular quarrels it is a poynt of wiſedome to ſtand neuter.* Who onely reſpecteth the place, goeth off when he will; who is of a faction is not ſo

admitted, that he can leave it, without ruining it.

And yet notwithſtanding hee was in ſuch account with both, that although diſcretion and equity appeared not in theſe confuſions, but by the light of *Harguebuſſes*, all, which belonged to him was regarded, his family felt not the miſeries of the ſiege of *Paris*, his friends cauſed him to keepe victuals ſecretly, and ſometimes in drummes, his houſe at *Conflans* was preſerved by a Lord who honoured the Father, and had beene bred with the Sonne. At the taking of *Pontoiſe*, a great man of this kingdome had the care to cauſe all the moveables of his houſe of *Halincourt* to bee brought into a ſtrong Citie of his government, and when the peace was concluded, hee ſent them backe to him in Carts, as it were by Inventary, there being not perceived the loſſe of any the leaſt parcel. It was an admirable providence of God to ſee, that againſt all likelihood, it ſhould be reſtored him, and that his charge of *Secretary of State*, ſhould likewiſe be rendred him.

How rigorous uſage ſoever hee received from his king, his affection towards his memory

mory was no whit exaſperated. *Henry the Great* told me one day the ſtrange reſolution this Prince had had againſt the Duke of *Alencon* his brother, and commanded me not to forget it in his hiſtory, ſaying: *It was neceſſary to obſerve the faults of Princes, to the end that ſuch as come after them may not wander in that way, wherein they loſt themſelves.* I framed a diſcourſe upon it, and ſhewed it to *Mounſieur Villeroy*, to ſubmit it to his judgement. He aſſured me he had never heard of it. The King hearing this anſwere, ſayd: *You ought to beleeve me, becauſe I ſpeake the truth, and you cannot but prayſe* Mounſieur Villeroy, *who would not ſpeake it to prejudice the honour of his maſter.* To this may bee referred his anſwere made to *Tinteville*, ſaying unto him, that none but he was able to write the hiſtory of that time, *I am* (ſayth he) *too much bound to the memory of* Henry *the third to undertake it.*

After the dreadfull, and tragicall death of this Prince, and on the next day after, hee ſent to one of the moſt truſty ſervants of his ſucceſſor, an expreſſe meſſenger, who repreſented unto him, that the harſhneſſe of

warre would be the deſtruction of the ſtate, and diſſembled not with the Duke *de Maine*, that it would ruine Religion, and advance their faction, who went about to reforme it.

This deſire of peace rendred him odious to ſuch as ſought to profit by warre; the Spaniards decryed his good intentions; bad *French* called him the *Politician*, & although the Cities in this deſperate liberty felt many miſeries by warre, and created many more by their partialities, yet the name of *Peace* was ſo odious amongſt them, that quiet ſpirits were accounted turbulent innovators.

It was through the conſtancie of his judgement, and of one other of much courage, and great underſtanding, that the Duke *de Mayne* found it to be the beſt, and moſt adventurous counſell which was ever given to a Prince, to cauſe foure of ſixteene to bee taken, who through a furious act of injuſtice, had diſhonoured this royall Parliament. By the like advice he drave away a petty tyrant from the *Baſtile*, which hee had made the ſtore-houſe of his theſts, and laſtly, gave the government

government to a noble ſpirit, whoſe conſtancie, and unſhaken fidelity *Henry the Great* applauded, for he eſteemed an honeſt man, on what ſide ſoever he were.

AS it is not hard to guide a ſhip which ſayles before the winde, ſo it is not difficult to give counſell where there is neither maine impediment, nor perill; but rough ſtormes try good Pilots, & great affaires ſtrong judgements. Such appeared, that, of *Villeroy* in this over-whelming tempeſt, where it was dangerous both to give counſell, and to refuſe.

Hee freely told the Duke *de Maine*, that there was but one of theſe three wayes to pacifie the kingdome, either to accord with the King, or to reunite all the Catholiques under one head againſt him; or to ſubmit themſelves to the protection of the *Spaniard*. The third being perillous, as contrarie to the lawes of the kingdome, and the humours of the French: and the ſecond very difficult (the Princes of the bloud being ſtraightly united for the intereſt of their houſes) hee adviſed the firſt under this condition, that the King

King ſhould re-enter into the Catholique Church, and that hee who had the keyes of it, would open the doore. That his Majeſtie ſhould be ſought unto therein by a notable & celebrious embaſſage; and publiquely, to juſtifie their Armes in caſe hee would not hearken to this juſt meanes of peace. The times have made it appeare, how many miſeries have beene avoyded by following this counſell. Thoſe rivers of bloud drawne from all the veines of the Body of *France*, would have ſerved to ciment together great Bulwarkes, to defend it againſt its enemies. It were to write a hiſtory to repreſent what was done in that time, it ſufficeth to tell you that the fruit of his negotiation was the conference of *Surenne*, which advanced the Kings converſion, after the truce, which was waited on by peace, as by the daughter on the mother. The people having taſted the ſweetneſſe of repoſe, would have no more troubles, the faction of the Duke *de Maine* found it ſelfe weake, and ſuccour failing, every one provided for himſelfe.

AFTER the converſion of the King,

King, he entred into the Kings ſervice, and as *Æneas* going from the ſack of *Troy*, carried along with him his Father, his Sonne, and an important place, which ſerved for the reduction of the reſt. The wiſeſt condemned the obſtinate, which ſhut up their eyes againſt this growing light, and required more ceremony to returne to their duty, than they had uſed in their ſeparation.

The King gave him his charge of *Principal Secretary of State*, & from the very day he entred into it, he perceived, order returned to affaires, to the great comfort of his heart. Hee ſpared not to ſay, *I have diſpatched more buſineſſe to day with Mounſieur Villeroy, than I did with other in ſix moneths*. He never ſpake to him upon any occaſion, how ſtrange or unexpected ſoever it were, that he delivered not his opinion, grounded either upon reaſon, or example. He wondred that ſuch a head knew ſo much, without acquiring in youth ought which is learned by ſtudy, or which is gained by bookes; moſt certaine it is, that had this ſo vigorous and ſprightly a judgement been cultivated by Art and Science, he would have arrived to much more perfection, and ſay

what we can, Theory walkes more ſolidly than practiſe, and *bookes ſhew in a little time, what experience teacheth not, but with the expence of many yeares.*

HE never negotiated with any man, that he was not too hard for him. There have beene forraigne Embaſſadors, who were held in their owne countrey to bee Intelligencies and ſpirits in the diſcovery and diſcuſſion of affaires, who talking with him, found their ſubtilties were but like beards or eares of corne, encountring with the ſolidity of ſuch a judgement: their diſcourſe but capritches, their skill but formalities.

They who mannage affaires, doe all of them propoſe one ſame marke, but they goe to it by different wayes, and ſome ſooner than other. The *Italians* by profound diſcourſe penetrate farre into the future: The Spaniards derive their beſt reſolutions from paſſed examples: the *French* ſtick upon the preſent: but *Prudence* regardeth all three times, and ever grounds its reaſons upon the neceſſitie of the preſent, the profit or loſſe of the paſſed, and the foreſight of the future. They who were

but

but his halfe friends, affirme his parts were not ordinary; a great integritie free from avarice, a great modeſty, an exquiſite ingenuitie, an incredible vigilancie, oppoſite to profuſion, innovation and diſorder. He read all was preſented to him, hee put not buſineſſes over to the next day, Hee cleared the Table every day, and dayes and nights are not more equal under the Equinoctiall, than were his words and actions. He carried in the moſt embroyled confuſions, the ſame countenance which hee ſhewed in the greateſt contentments of the Court. Bruit affrighted not him, who bent not his apprehenſion, but to juſt and apparant feares. *To feare all, is cowardice; to feare nothing is ſtupiditie*; with the ſame hand with which he preſented the evill, hee gave the remedy. The King conſidering this his goodneſſe and dexteritie, often ſayd, *I muſt needs ſay, Mounſieur Villeroy is a good and gracious ſervant.*

He gave audience without trouble, confuſion, or impatience: the gravitie which one met with in the beginning, was ſweetned by a great affabilitie, a matter neceſſarie for a States-man: for the ſtouteſt ſpirits are payd,

and ſatisfied with good words, which never excoriate the tongue, and are repulſed by harſhneſſe; They who are ſowre, and auſtere, who heare not with attention, and patience, nor anſwer but in anger, deſtroy the Princes ſervice, who is bound, either in his owne perſon to heare, and ſee, or by his miniſters, who are his eyes, and eares. *Doe you thinke* (ſayd *Rodolphus*, founder of the famous houſe of *Auſtria*) *that I am choſen Emperour to be perpetually ſhut up in a Box?*

HE uſed great adviſedneſſe, not to precipitate his counſels; *Henry the Great* propoſed a very urgent buſineſſe to him, and ſeeing his coldneſſe, asked him why he ſpake not: Becauſe (ſayth hee) I thought it was a matter of command, not of ſpeech. He deſired to have his advice in an occaſion which concerned a Prince of the bloud, hee anſwered, when Kings deliberate upon any thing, which toucheth their allyes, they muſt onely conſult with nature. *A States-man ought to know upon what, and how hee muſt give, or refuſe to give counſell.* In ſome matters it is cowardice to be ſilent, in other it is temeritie to

ſpeake,

ſpeake, but in no hand is it permitted to give counſell, before it bee asked. Hee gave the King that good counſell, which greatly ſerved to eſtabliſh peace, and deſtroy the pretexts of warre, cauſing *Mounſieur* the Prince, who was at *S. Iohn d'Angely*, to come to the Court, and to bee bred in Catholique religion, that it might plainly appeare in the lawfull ſucceſſion, for this uncertainty occaſioned feare in mindes, and entertained partialitie in the provinces.

KINGS are alwayes Kings; but in civill diviſions, as they are not acknowledged by one ſide, ſo they are not well obeyed by the other. This Prince during the warre, had beene often conſtrayned to play the *Carabin*, to overcome in his Cabinet by ſweetneſſe, before he fought in the field by valour; Here, to bee a fellow in armes, and there a Soldier. The actions of his Majeſtie were obſcured, as the ſtatue of *Minerva* was veyled during the ſolemnity of *Plyntheries*; or, as all ſtood ſad at *Rome* whilſt the *Salii* (thoſe mad Prieſts of *Mars*) bare the *Ancylia* through the ſtreetes.

The King well perceived the prejudice which enſued thereon: for as great ſeveritie exaſperateth affections, ſo too much facility vilifieth authoritie. *Villeroy* told him, that a Prince who was not jealous of reſpects due to Majeſtie, permitted both the offence, & the contempt: That Kings his predeceſſors in the greateſt confuſions, had alwayes carried themſelves like Kings: That it was time he ſhould ſpeake, write, and command like a King: That it was not alwaies done, there had before been too much regard of words, too much adviſedneſſe in diſpatches, too much conſideration in commands. Hee had often entreated thoſe hee ſhould command, recompenced thoſe who deſerved puniſhment, and appeaſed ſuch as had angred him.

When he was peacefull, they who had lived in indifferencie, had much a doe to returne to diſtinctions, and order. Inſolent preſumption, and proud arrogancie (the ordinarie Symptomes of indocible, and inconſtant ſpirits) could not arraunge themſelves under the lawes of modeſty, and duty.

From that time the King became a King in good earneſt, he put the moſt refractory under

der diſcipline, and many found themſelves under thoſe they ſought to precede. Majeſty, which ſo freely had ſuffered it ſelfe to be approched unto, and to be importuned, became ſo tender, that how little ſoever it was touched, it ſhewed it ſelfe to bee wounded. For which cauſe the King ſayd, *Villeroy* had taught him to play the King, and had ſhewed him more in ſix moneths, than hee had knowne thereof in ſix yeares. He ſome time after being asked, if hee would keepe the feſtivall of the three Kings in the beginning of the yeare, he remembred himſelfe what *Villeroy* had ſayd unto him, and added; we have but too much played the Kings. *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Aſia*, for having contemned Majeſty, and not knowing how to bee a King, was ſurnamed the *Mad-man*.

Hee could not learne this leſſon from a better maſter; for precepts to make a King, are not acquired but from rule, and many muſt be obſerved to know what the Offices thereof are. Thoſe of private perſons are daily practiſed, royall grow not, nor appeare not, but in great occaſions.

As *Adaldague* having beene *Secretarie of State*

State fiftie yeares to three *Otboes*, Emperours, and *Gaspar Schlick* to *Sigismond*, *Albertus*, and *Fredericke* the third, were reputed skilfull of all the obligations of Emperours: so *Villeroy*, who had already seene the court under the reigne of *Francis* the second, and had entred into imployments under the reigne of *Charles* the ninth, and had mannaged the most important affaires under *Henry* the third, and was not ignorant of any of the greatest under *Henry* the fourth, could alone give this instruction.

Who teacheth what is to bee done, cannot be ignorant how it is to bee done, which is the cause there is no great difference between those who rule, and such as shew how to rule. They have but one marke to aime at, which is the safetie of the state, both the one and the other are ordained to serve the Commonwealth; and for this it is, why a *Roman* Emperour sayd, that to reigne was to serve, comprizing this servitude in three words, *To serve the Senate*, by submitting to Counsels; *To serve all*, by looking after the common good; *To serve particulars*, by yeelding right to all, and defending them from injurie.

SO

SO that hee who can well ſerve the Prince, can well ſerve the State, who can play the *States*-man can play the Prince. It is one ſame thing to appoint or counſel, that, which muſt be appointed. *All, which ſerves to rule well, ſerves to counſell him well who ruleth.*

In treaties with ſtrangers he hath ever ſhewed the generoſitie of his ſpirit. Did hee not ſay to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who made the firſt overture of the peace between the two Kings, purſued, and concluded ſo g'oriouſly by the Chauncellors, *Belieure*, and *Sillery*, that *Spaine* could not hope for it, without reſtitution, and *to ſpeake to Princes of reſtitution, is it not to encreaſe variance?* what got *Roncas* from him, when hee propoſed the Duke of *Savoy's* deſire to come into *France*, but that hee ſhould not bee welcome, if he had an intention to with-hold, what hee ought to reſtore. After the treaty of *Paris*, he ſayd: Wee ſtill expect when this Prince will bee delivered of a good word. And thereupon his Embaſſadours ſaying, the King of *Spaine* would paſſe into *Italy* to defend the inheritance of his Nephewes, hee replyed, *That is it we deſire: for if wee muſt breake, the*

cauſe it juſt, and the agreement will be the better made, and the more perfect.

This prayſe-worthy paſſion of the greatneſſe of this Crowne, made him one of the moſt unwilling for the exchange of the Marquiſiate of *Saluces* for *la Breſſe*, hee not enduring to counſell the King to leſſen his frontier. He conſidered that *Henry* the third had often repented him to have rendred the Cities of *Pignarol*, *Sarvilliana*, and *Perouſe* to the Duke of *Savoy*, which were the keyes of *Daulphine*, and *Piemont*, and that the Duke of *Nevers*, not ſeeming to conſent to an act ſo contrary to the greatneſſe of this crowne, had demanded to bee diſcharged from the government of *Provinces* beyond the mountaines. This brave Prince, then, foreſaw, and foretold, that ſo ſoone as this gate were ſhut up againſt the *French*, that, of the *Griſons* would not long continue open.

When a Prince hath any thing from another by the right of Armes, or other title, how ſlightly ſoever it be coloured, hee is not well counſelled, to render it againe. It is a Maxime among all Princes, and there is none ſo tender of conſcience, who will mortally

tally wound his owne ſtate, to accommodate his neighbour.

A Prince, potent, warlike, and peaceable, thinkes on nothing but the enlargement of his frontiers, and ſees no limits of it, but at the poynt of his ſword. It is ſayd *Lewis* the eleventh made this anſwere to thoſe who ſpake of the weakneſſe of the frontiers of *Picardie* againſt the *Engliſh*: *Trouble not your ſelves, my frontier is much further.* As much as to ſay, that to keepe the *Engliſh* in peace, hee would make warre upon them in *Scotland.*

As he ſhewed the conſtancie of his courage to ſtrangers, ſo he made the like generoſitie to appeare in reducing the Kings ſubjects to their duty. Hee hath ſhewed the greateſt of this kingdome, that their greatneſſe onely reſted in humbling themſelves to the Kings will: That there was no ſafety for them, but in their loyaltie: That the quality of Prime-prince diſpenſed not with them from being the prime ſervant to the King.

When the King undertooke the voyage of *Sedan*, the Lord of that place more confiding in the Kings goodneſſe, and the conſideration of his ſervices, than in the defence

of his fortreſſe, deſired toſpeake with *Mounſieur Villeroy*, who went to finde him out at *Torcy*. The King during their conference, uttered theſe words, I have ſent him a rough Grey-hound. He flattered him not, when he ſayd, his unhappineſſe and ruine were in reſiſtance; his ſafetie, and hope in humility and obedience. Hee yeelded up the Fort, and it was a notable peece of judgement in *Mounſieur Villeroy*. For particular intereſt made it ſelfe generall in the paſſion of thoſe who ſayd, they apprehended no other perill for this Lord, but that he had enemies neare unto the King, who would counſell him to make the Altars of *Rome* to ſmoke with his bloud in hatred of his religion.

AT all times *Villeroy* preferred the Kings ſervice before all other thoughts, neglecting his owne affaires for thoſe of the ſtate, and hence enſued that infinite proofe of his integritie, in that hee very little augmented the eſtate, which his anceſtors left him.

His long ſervices, his inceſſant induſtry, the affection of five Kings, might have filled his houſe with ſo great riches, as to make them

them comparable to the wealth of that *Roman* Citizen, who ſaw rivers to riſe and glide along in his owne lands. His father was governour of *Pontoyſe*, *Meulan*, and *Mantes*: *Henry* the third had given to his ſonne the Lieutenancie in the government of *Lyons*. *Henry the Great* gave it him after the death of *Mounſieur la Guiche* (the flowre of noble, free, and generous ſoules) he afterward had the government in chiefe, which *Mounſieur de Vendoſme* held. And all this compared to the toyls of ſuch a ſervant, ſhews, that in the houſes of Kings, gratitude is not alwayes equivalent to great ſervices.

Whereupon *Henry le Great* layd, *Princes have ſervants of all prices and faſhions. Some doe their owne buſineſſe before their maſters: Some doe their maſters, and forget not their own; but* Villeroy *thought his maſters was his, and uſed the ſame eagerneſſe which another would have done in ſolliciting his owne cauſe, or labouring in his owne vineyard.*

There is neither greatneſſe, nor encreaſe of a ſtate to be hoped for, where it is governed by men more carefull of their owne particular, than the publique. So likewiſe it is fit

the Princedoe his affaires, who ſerveth him, that he may have his ſpirit free, which cannot be, he having that (monſter *Poverty*) in his minde. *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spaine*, ſayd to *Ruy Gomes*, his faithfull ſervant, *Diſpatch my affaires, and I will diſpatch thine.* When after his death many ſpake of the great riches he left, he ſaid, *I thought I had done much better for him.*

Never was any man more earneſt for the honour of a ſtate, than *Villeroy*. The chiefe poynt of his inſtructions to Embaſſadours, who went to ſerve the King out of the kingdome, was, *religiouſly to preſerve the honour of majeſtie*, to ſpeake nothing imprudently, nor wickedly give eare to any thing againſt it; and he alwayes made the King in his diſpatches, to ſpeak as a Prince, great, and awfull, in elegant termes, but ſuch as were moſt proper for Kings. In his particular letters there was ever ſomething gentile, and which ſhewed him to bee a man well borne, and long bred in the Cabinet of Kings.

HOW great ſoever his credit was, hee abuſed not the good opinion of his maſter,

ſter, nor tyred him with troubleſome ſuits. So likewiſe when hee ſpake for any one, his recommendation alone was an undoubted proofe of merit. As hee was not of a humour to doe good to many, ſo hee would not hurt any, nor oppoſe the Princes liberalitie to divert it: *To doe no good to any, is Avarice; to hinder another therein, is Crueltie.*

MANY brave ſpirits would have beene unknowne, if hee had not made them to bee knowne, and ackcowledged. Hee rayſed ſome of them to the Principall honours of the Church, and amongſt many, I will make choyce but of two for an example, becauſe they were of the ſame promotion, and arrived unto it by two ſeverall wayes, the one by the merit of learning, the other by judgement in affaires.

Villeroy, who was advertiſed of all, and recommending the firſt to *Henry the Great*, told him, his great learning had beene ſo admired at *Rome* in the firſt voyage hee made after, that, of the Duke of *Nevers*, that would he have ſtayed, the Pope gave him hope of great

great fortunes, and honour. Hee needed to ſay no more, to reſolve the King, who had notice of this truth in his owne converſion, and in the conference of *Fountainebleau*.

The other was in ſuch eſteeme at *Rome*, that had it not beene for his opinion concerning originall ſinne, hee had beene choſen Pope. Hee told his friends hee was bound to *Villeroy* for the *Cardinals-cap*, who not ſo much conſidered his merit, as his owne deſire to doe the King good ſervice, to the end that ſuch as ſhould have the like intention, might bee aſſured of the ſame reward. Three great ornaments of *France*, who have had the Seales of the Kingdome (the *Seales*, the ſacred marke of the *Kings Iuſtice*) have not concealed that *Villeroy's* recommendation had holpen their merit.

HE commended not this vehement paſſion of ſearching into, or correcting things paſt. Hee held his peace in the beginning of the purſuit againſt *Financiers*; but after the firſt heat was cooled, he dextrouſly tooke his time to over-throw it, and told the King, hee had ever obſerved more trouble than fruit in ſuch

ſuch enquiries, which being too generall, oftentimes involved the innocent with the guilty, and diſturbed the peace of Families. This was not, that hee deſired not to ſee abuſes corrected, and Sponges ſqueezed; but there are remedies which make the malady worſe.

Hee deſired the people ſhould have meanes to breathe, and our Kings to bee ſo rich, and potent, that all extraordinary wayes to get money, might bee aboliſhed. Our revolts and ſeditions have multiplied the miſeries within, and drawne on fury abroad; *have cauſed warres, which cannot bee undertaken without money, nor ended but by peace; and peace not being to bee had but by Armes, Armes are not maintained but by money, and money cannot bee got but by tributes.*

In theſe great extremities our Kings have beene conſtrayned to have recourſe to violent remedies, to mow the meadow as often as they liſt. Charges are augmented, and redoubled by the increaſe of evils, in ſuch ſort, that *Philip*, ſurnamed the *Long*, ſaw himſelfe reduced into ſo violent, and preſ-

ſing neceſſities, that to come out of them, hee demanded the fifth part of the revenew, and labours of his ſubjects, without any imagination of the times, or diſtinction of perſons.

The true opinion of his integritie, had acquired ſo great a reputation, that not onely his words were weighed, but great heed alſo was taken of his ſilence.

They who flatter Princes, and hold their vices to bee imperfect vertues, approved by their diſcourſe, a deſigne, which *Villeroy* diſſuaded by his ſilence. This Prince comming to himſelfe, ſayd, that *Villeroy* ſaying nothing, ſpake much to him. Behold what *power the ſole countenance of an honeſt man hath!*

HE never did any important thing but by his advice, from whom hee derived the knowledge, both of what hee ſhould doe, as alſo what might happen, when it were done. How often hath hee been heard to ſay, *Villeroy ſayd it; all is done as Villeroy foreſaw it.* Newes was brought to him, that the Duke of *Savoy* had cauſed *Poncas* to bee arreſted:

arreſted. *Sir* (ſayd *Villeroy*) *D'albigny will receive the counter blow.* The prediction was true, and deciphered the ſtrength of a great judgement.

He ſo clearly looked into the future, that it is above fifteene yeares agoe ſince hee ſayd that the greateſt would one day account it an honour to be preſent at the rayſing of a man, who is ruined for that hee had not a friend to whiſper him in his eare, what *Pericles* daily ſayd to himſelfe, *Take heed* Pericles, *thou commandeſt free men, thou haſt to doe with Athenians.*

A true friend had ſpoken that to him, which *Villeroy* ſayd to a Prince: That hee had obſerved oftentimes at Court, that fortunes which come leaſurely, are the lateſt ruined. But falſe amities entertaine men onely with fables, and blaſts of winde, which fill empty imaginations. Strong and generous ſoules ſuffer not themſelves to bee deceived by vanity. They are Lyons, which for a time endure to bee led whither one will, whilſt their eyes are covered; but when they have liberty to underſtand themſelves, they become untractable. The ſame Lyons ſuffer

themselves to bee dressed up with flowres to enter into the Games; but if their shadow, or the water shew them that this dresse is not consonant to their generositie, they teare it in pieces. It is onely fit for dull and stupid oxen, who are led along to sacrifices.

THIS Cabinet hath beene as an universall map: there was to be seen the ground-plot of the greatest enterprizes of Christendome, there was scarcely a Monarchy or Republique in the world which had not somewhat to doe there. It was the Academie where the Princes of the bloud, and other Peeres became capable of those things, the ignorance whereof is not excusable. Recourse was made thither as to a certaine Register to determine disputes of rankes, to order the ceremonies of the most solemne actions of Majestie.

No man entred into it, who went not out more knowing; men of action there learnt maximes of state, Embassadours there tooke their instructions, Generals of Armies there received direction of designes, and Governours of Provinces their power.

So

So well his counſels ſerved to the preſervation, and continuance of peace, that it is to be feared, leſt we have occaſion to ſay, as Pope *Sixtus* the fourth did, That the peace of *Italy* died with *Galeas* Duke of *Milan*. In this Cabinet *Henry the Great* hath renewed his alliances with his neighbours, hath quenched the civill warre of *Italy*, hath eſtabliſhed the repoſe of the *Hollander*, hath ſuccoured his allies in *Germany*, hath weighed ſo many ſundry propoſitions for the glory of this Crowne, and revenge of injuries.

In this Cabinet it was, where the holy mariage, everlaſtingly happy, was propoſed, which affoorded *Henry the Great*, ſonnes to bee the aſſured pillars of this Crowne, the love and ornament of ſtrangers. Heaven had ordained, that our *Hercules*, after ſo many labours, ſhould repoſe in the chaſte boſome of Princeſſe *Mary*, daughter of *Francis*, the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and *Ioane* of *Auſtria*, daughter of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, honoured with two the moſt ſupreme titles, which may adorne a generous ſoule, being wife to *Henry the great*, and *mother* of *Lewis the juſt*. It only belonged to her, that

her head already crowned with immortall Laurels of vertue, ſhould bee ſo likewiſe with the prime crowne of the world; but God, who at the ſame time had delivered her from a great malady, hath reſerved her to bee the eldeſt Queene of Chriſtendome.

VILLEROY was one of the three, whom *Henry the great* recommended with ſo much affection to this great Princeſſe, and who contrary to all diſcourſe, and humane appearance, have maintained order in affaires, and quiet in the kingdome during her regencie. Whilſt ſhee authorized their Counſell, and cheriſhed their good intentions, *Tranquillity*, *Plenty* and *Obedience*, three markes of the felicity of Empires, *made this kingdom to flouriſh. Conſtantine the great*, wondring that *Alexander Severus* had ſo happily reigned, comming to the Empire young, and an alien (for he was a *Syrian*) it was anſwered him, that *Mammea* his mother was directed and counſelled by perſonages of great experience, and integritie, *Vlpianus*, *Iulius Paulus*, *Fabius*, *Sabinus*, *Pomponius*. It was upon the aſſiſtance of men of this qualitie, and on the

the wiſedome of ſuch, that *Plotina*, wife of *Trajan*, entring into the Imperiall palace, and turning her ſelfe towards the people, ſayd, *Such as I come in hither, ſuch I deſire to come forth.* A head cut off in the *Greve* ſtupified, and aſtoniſhed a ſedition, and ſetled the auththoritie of the regencie, which was but newly begun, and *Villeroy* judged this example to be neceſſarie, although alliance obliged him rather to look after the aboliſhment, than the puniſhment of the crime.

She had in the beginning ſo much confidence in his counſels, that ſhee thought they made up a part of the proſperity of her *Regencie*, as *Athens* termed *Ariſtides* the felicity of *Greece*. Had they been followed, the firſt ſtirres raiſed againſt the government, had been ſtifled in their birth, and the ſecond had not paſſed 11 rivers, if her conference with *Mounſieur* the Prince, had not beene broken off.

Shee witneſſed her great and juſt affection, when ſhe viſited him in a ſharpe ſickneſſe, laying, that in her devotions, after ſhee had remembred the ſoule of her husband, & the life of her ſon, ſhe praied for the health of *Villeroy*.

THEY

THEY who have their taſtes ſo depraved, that they forſake ſweet for ſowre, guſtfull for unſavory, and who in diſcourſe ſeeke for nothing but Satyricall ſtings, will ſay, that the lively colours of ſo many rare, and eminent qualities, as are in this Table, were to be heightned by the ſhadowes of reproches, faſtned on the originall. But all this being but duſt which marres it not, I remit them to two Apologies, which give a reaſon of all hath beene rayſed againſt his reputation.

It is true; men the moſt perfect, having imperfections; in him there hath beene obſerved ſome exceſſe of gravitie. Hee knew the great ſupereminencie which experience gave him over others, and was very carefull to preſerve it, when he treated with the moſt able of all ſorts; very ſenſible, and curious he was upon all paſſages, which proceeded againſt his judgement, he delighted to ſee his opinions applauded, and would not hazard them, unleſſe hee were ſure they ſhould finde credit, or ſucceſſe.

I hereupon remember, that when Queene-mother ſent him in the yeare 1612. to *Mounſieur*

ſieur the Prince, and to *Mounſieur Conty* to conjure them to returne to the Court, they ſayd of him, that *hee of all men in the world, was able alone to give a great Prince, bold, free, and good counſell; but hee was ſo accuſtomed to goe before, that hee made him to come after.*

Hee who ſits higheſt in the Theater, is loth to deſcend lower for the laſt commers. It is a harſh thing for ſuch as have growne old in a Princes ſervice, to yeeld to others. They ſtill have in their mindes, that, which *Cteſiphon* ſayd to *Eſchines*. *You playd the game, and I layd out the money: you wrote, and I ſpake: you were the wraſtler, and I the ſpectator: you daunced, and I piped: you diſpatched your owne buſineſſe in the government, and I, thoſe of the publique.*

The treaties of mariage between the King, and Queene, made him odious to ſuch as conſider the Crowne of *Spaine*, as a Comet on their ſide. Then was the time, when good intentions were decryed by ſome, ſuſpected by other, and that Calumny began to aſſaile them. As *Hercules*, although the ſonne of *Iupiter*, was not put into the num-

ber of the gods, untill hee had fought with *Hydra:* ſo he had not arrived to the great reputation of beeing the Oracle of this ſtate, unleſſe hee had grappled with this monſter. But as *Hercules* made ſo little account of ſlaunders, that hee ordained a ſacrifice, wherein hee would not bee adored but by injuries, hee mocked at it, and told his friends, *Theſe kinde of divels are not driven away, but by contempt.*

A packet was brought him, ſurprized at *Orleans*, which was going to the Aſſembly at *Thoneins*, full ſtuffed with complaints and reproches againſt his honour, blaming him for adviſing theſe mariages, and urging the execution of them.

Hee ſhewed it to all the world, although it was in his power to have made it vapour away, unſeene by any: a leſſon for others, not to ſuppreſſe either a diſpatch, or an advice, how prejudiciall ſoever it may bee to their honour, or to the fortune of their friends; for it is fit the Prince be informed of all, and that his ſervice take away all reſpects and particular intereſts.

It was read in the Cabinet, and every one admi-

admired the conſtancie of his ſoule, which neither ſhooke nor was ſtirred with ſo rough aſſaults, even before the faces of King, Queene, and Princes, and other miniſters of ſtate. *It is weakneſſe of ſpirit, or a confuſion of crime, to reſent an injurie, which one knowes can neither touch, nor wound us.* A lye covereth all.

FORTVNE, which tryed the conſtancie of *Scevola* by fire: of *Fabricius* by povertie: of *Rutilius* by baniſhment, proved the courage of *Villeroy* by meanes which ſhould uphold him, and his enemies ſhot arrowes againſt him, which they ought to have kept to defend him. As hee was very odious to ſome, for having adviſed the alliance of *Spaine*, ſo hee was blamed by others, for ſeeking to delay the accompliſhment, and not approving the exchange of the government of *Picardie* for that of *Normandy*, hee in a moment ſaw favour eclipſed.

Hee retired into his houſe of *Conflans*, propoſing to himſelfe to end in the haven, the yeares he had ſpent in the floud and ebbe. He had wiſhed this retreat, but ſeldome enters

this wiſh into the thoughts of Courtiers, who the elder they waxe in it, grow the more in love with it: For they know, when theſe ſtarres fall from their Spheare, they not onely loſe influence, and motion, but light alſo.

Hee was not ſuffered to taſte the pleaſures of ſolitude, hee was made to know his abſence prejudiced affaires, and that the generall Aſſembly of the States held then at *Paris*, was ſcandalized, that a man was taken from the ſonne, who had ſo well ſerved the father.

Honeſt men ſayd, the ſafetie of the veſſell was doubtfull, ſince good Pilots were not ſecure: what aſſurance is there in ſuch confuſions? And who wil entermeddle in a ſtate, where *Ariſtides* is wronged, *Socrates* is condemned, and *Ariſtotle* feares to abide?

HE returned at the Queenes firſt command, proteſting hee would never bee the cauſe of hindering the Kings ſervice, and that the reſentment of an injury, tooke not from him the ſence of dutie. Hee ſayd, *The ſervant was not well adviſed, who retired upon*

upon his Maſters anger.

Hee returned then, but brought not backe with him, that firſt reputation, and ſtayed long, untill his patience had gnawne upon that, which his courage was to devour, being ſometimes preceded by thoſe, who heretofore would have thought it an honour to follow him: but it being very hard to forgoe men ſo neceſſarie, the Queene ſent him to *Creil*, and to *Clermont*, when the ſecond motions began to ſtirre, and thence to *Guyen*.

IT is not fit to let a great underſtanding, borne for action, to reſt; and old age exacteth a thing unjuſt, when it makes him retire from attendance on the Prince, but if hee bee not permitted to repoſe at threeſcore and thirteene, nor is diſpenſed with to goe a voyage of two hundred leagues through the moſt ſcorching heates, among feares of ſurprizes, and deſignes of enemies, and to returne from it, through extreme and inſupportable colds, I know not at what age one ſhould ſacrifice to repoſe.

Having the laſt yeare made the voyage of *Poicton* and *Brittaigne*, his great yeares, and

indiſpoſitions ought to have excuſed him; but the occaſion was too fayre, the journey too honorable, the ſervice too neceſſarie, to free a man from it, who ſayd the ſervant ſhould not aske whither he was ſent, contenting himſelfe with the honour of the command, and to obey; for he cannot bee ill accommodated, if his maſter bee well ſerved.

Theſe long journeyes have difficulties, from which the greateſt, who finde accommodation every where, free not themſelves, and thoſe which are but ſport and pleaſure to the young, are inſupportable to the aged.

For this it was, why *Budæus*, whom *Francis* the firſt made one of his *Secretaries*, to oblige him to follow him, and aſſiſt him to drive away ignorance and barbariſme, termed the Court-life, a life irkſome, inſolent, and embroyled. I have often revolved in my minde in thoſe his journeyes, that excellent and learned Latine Letter hee wrot to his ſonne, to excuſe him with his friends for not publiſhing a volumne of his Letters. Behold here the ſumme of it. *I cannot intend it,*

not

not ſo much for the hinderance of affaires, as for the ſundry diſturbances of Court, and the ſtrange enforcement of often changing place. How many times thinke you, for theſe fifteene dayes, have I had opportunitie to ſit, either to write, or read, in baſe, ſtreight lodgings, and where one ſees not at all, eſpecially when all the rabble comes about one.

I doe nothing but runne up and downe. It is more than a mile from the place where the King lyes, to my lodging, if it may bee called a lodging, to bee in the ſame Chamber pelmell among Peaſants, their poultrey, and all things fed in the baſe Court, neare unto my horſes, and unto Cockes diſtinguiſhing the night-watches.

I am beſides, conſtrained to goe to the firſt Table I finde, and needes muſt I, (as it happens, and as Court chances are unexpected) play the ſmell-feaſt. The Victualling-houſes being not ſtill prepared, nor fit for honeſt men, wee are enforced to retire into Cottages, where the raine comes in on every ſide, and where there is no houſhold ſtuffe, but ſuch as the Cyrenians had.

If *Budeus*, one of the rareſt men of his time, who brought *Athens* to *Paris*, and who

was

was maſter of the *Requeſts*; in a time when there was but eight, ſuffered all this, a man muſt be very nice to complaine of the condition of his attendance at Court.

THE firſt overtures to end the warre being made at *Bourdeaux* by his dexteritie, hee was employed to *Poictiers*, to make the truce; hee went from *Tours* to *Londun* to treat of the peace there. A negotiation, the moſt rugged, and difficult which was ever brought upon the Carpet, both for the diverſitie of intereſts, and the multitude of intereſſed.

A Marſhall of *France* preceded him in this Embaſſage, two Lords of the Councell aſſiſted him.

All his Diſcourſes were leſſons, and Commentaries to enlighten the moſt doubtfull occurrencies. The prayſe-worthy curioſitie of one hath obſerved, and written what hee ſayd in conferences both publique, and familiar, and the collection hee made, containeth matters ſo rare, and ſingular, that not to mention it, would wrong the Hiſtorie.

Retur-

Returning from *Loudun* to *Tours*, to ſhew unto the Queene, the thornes which choked the treatie, hee forbare not to tell her, the Princes complayned, that the King had no better notice of affaires; and ſpeaking to his Majeſtie, hee ſayd, it was time hee ſhould take the care of them, and preferre *the moſt important before the leaſt ſerious*, adding, that when Kings neglect their own affaires, there are ſtill ſome found, who diſturbe them, by undertaking to doe them.

This was a ſparke, which falling into his Royall ſoule, enkindled a reſolution in him to bee, that, for which God had created him. *It is impoßible for a Prince to doe all, and ſhamefull for him to doe nothing.* The high Chamberlaine of the *Perſian* King, drawing aſide the Curtaine ſayd, *Riſe (Sir) and give order in thoſe affairs, which God hath committed to you.* The Hiſtory judiciouſly obſerveth the morning: for it is not to be watchfull in affaires to come to them in the evening.

Vigilancie and *Royalty* are borne together. It is the eye on the *Egyptian* Scepter.

Is it poſſible an eye can ſleepe on the toppe of a Truncheon, or on the poynt of a launce? Princes and Miniſters of ſtate (as ſtarres) muſt watch for thoſe that ſleepe, and to make themſelves capable of their affaires, they muſt often ſpeake of them, and to more than one, that they engage not the ſafetie of many to the judgement of one man, as *Alexander Severus* conſulted with Captains in enterprizes; with Iudges in matter of puniſhments and rewards; with learned men concerning examples to bee followed, or eſchewed; and with Prieſts in affaires of Religion.

WERE the contentments which the Court affoordeth perfectly pure, and not embroyled with envie, ſuſpitions, and anxieties, thoſe of *Villeroy* after the Treatie of *Londun*, would have beene moſt abſolute, having ended a miſerable warre, which good, and rationall men, even with commiſeration deteſted. All warre ought to bee accounted for the ſickneſſe and maladie, and peace for the true conſtitution, and wholeſome temperature of a ſtate. *A Prince com-*

commits no leſſe an error in letting ſlip the occaſion of a ſure, and honourable peace, than by precipitating himſelfe raſhly, and imprudently into an unjuſt warre.

But hee having in the treatie of *Loudun*, more conſidered publique intereſt, than particular, ſaw himſelfe in ſuch diſ-favour, that hee was conſtrained to ſuffer his charges to bee diſpoſed of, as they pleaſed. Hee in this precipice retained his ordinary conſtancie, as *Coloſſuſſes*, though thrown into a ditch, loſe not their greatneſſe.

Hee conſecrated the houres to pietie, which hee had heretofore employed in affaires, and men wondred to ſee him give eare to Sermons at the ſame time, when our Kings formerly tooke delight to hearken to him. Heretofore hee ſought for God at Court, hee now findes him in retirement. One cannot bee at the ſame time in *Babylon*, and *Ieruſalem*, and hee who is in *That*, muſt ever have the window of his ſoule open towards *This*.

After this memorable time, which put the veſſels into the port of a perfect tranquillitie, that had too long floated on the An-

chor, in an inſtant Armes were ſeene to fall out of the Princes hands, and the deſignes of a third faction to bee ſtopped. The King preſently advertiſed him of it, hee cauſed him to come to *Louure*, and as it were, caſting himſelfe betweene his armes, put upon him the whole care of his affaires and ſtate.

Hee ſhewed him the letters hee had prepared, and which were all ready upon this occaſion to bee ſent to the Governours of *Provinces*; hee approved them. They were the lines of a good pen, and a brave ſpirit, who preferring fidelity due to his King and Countrey, before any other obligation, had two yeares together wiſely and couragiouſly mannaged a great part of this great and dangerous deſigne.

Auncient miniſters of ſtate were taken off from affaires, or rather affaires were bereaved of their good direction, and the three principall offices of ſtate were ſtrayned, and diſſolved into one man; the firſt counſell which *Villeroy* gave the King, was, to reſtore them to their charges, and re-eſtabliſh the former order.

The

The King rejoyced at the returne of *Mounſieur* the Chancellour, as he had deplored his departure, and frequent teares, which fell from the Queenes eyes, when hee tooke leave of her at *Bloïs*, ſhewed the violence which her ſoule had ſuffered to conſent to this change. The Lord Keeper of the Seales, who had more freely yeelded them up, than accepted them againe, received them the ſecond time from the Kings hand, who prayſed his vertue and juſtice; not unlike to *Euphrates*, which never alters his courſe for the oppoſition of the higheſt mountaines. The ſuperintendent of *Finances* continued his charge with the ſame integritie, but with much more power than before. The Controulerſhip generall of *Finances* was given him, whom *Henry the Great* had entruſted with it, and who hath ſo much ſinceritie, loyaltie, and honour in this charge, that wiſhes cannot adde to the contentment, which the publique, and his conſcience gave him.

HE went to the Aſſembly of *Roan*, and carried thither good thoughts, and

wholeſome counſels for the ſervice of the King, and the good of the ſtate, not hiding his diſlike, to ſee that after this great *Criſis*, the malady was not wholly taken away. Hee made this journey upon condition, hee at his returne, might thinke no more but on the greateſt, and to forſake the toyles of Court, and noyſe of the Citie. Amongſt the many Temples which *Rome* rayſed to its fabulous Deities, that, of *Repoſe* was in the Countrey. Writing to his ſonne, the governour of *Lyons*, hee wiſhed him to doe his buſineſſe in the morning, as if he were ſure to loſe it in the evening.

HIS moſt ſenſible contentments appeared in the mariage of the Marqueſſe *Villeroy*, his grand-childe, with the daughter of *Mounſieur Crequies* grand-childe, *the brave Marſhall*, the *Demetrius* of his time, who at the age of threeſcore and eighteene, affrighted *Lombardy*. Hee recommended nothing ſo much to this young Lord, as the Kings ſervice, thinking this command comprehended all other.

Obey

Obey the King, is to performe the principall poynt of the Law; *For who giveth not to Cæſar, what belongs to Cæſar, is alwayes ſlack in his dutie towards God.* This is a precept, which the Nobility of *France* ſhould night and day ſtudy; It is the gold which the Oracle adviſed ſhould bee hanged at the eares of the *Lydian* youth.

The rules which a great man of this kingdome gave lately to his ſonne (an officer of the Crowne) for his better direction, are good for all thoſe, who will walke in innocencie before heaven, and in honour on earth, I account theſe the moſt certaine: *Render your ſelfe obedient and at hand neare the King at the houres you ſhall thinke to bee moſt acceptable to him, conforme your will to his, ſeeke for what hee affecteth, make it your principall delight to pleaſe him, and to gaine his good favour. To thinke to make your ſelfe more eſteemed by great expence, than by vertue, and frugalitie is an abuſe: yea verily, a folly.* All the Philoſophers of the univerſitie, and of experience, cannot furniſh you with better precepts, either to make, or maintaine a fortune in Court.

PRE-

PRESENTLY after the beginning of the aſſembly, death violently aſſailed *Villeroy*, but it ſurprized him not: for he long before was prepared for that day, the laſt of age, and firſt of Eternity, and had ſeene all that, to dye before him, which diſturbeth the contentment of a ſweet death. There are none; but ſuch as are wel prepared to dye, who goe joyfully, and conſtantly towards death.

The violence thereof laſted but twice foure and twenty houres, it nothing at all taking away the ſtrength of his judgement, nor vigour of his patience, ſweetly breathing forth his laſt in the hope and thirſt of eternall life, and in the teſtimonies of pietie, which hee ſo religiouſly had manured all his life time. His body was opened to bee embalmed, and carried to *Magny*, the place of buriall of his anceſtors; there was no bloud found in him, he having made his ſervice continue to the laſt drop.

The King in words worthy the goodneſſe of ſuch a maſter, and the merit of ſuch a ſervant, ſhewed he felt in his heart this loſſe, and the remembrance of what hee dying, recommended

mended unto him. The Prince who looseth an auncient servant able to give him counsell without passion, and to tell him truth without flattery, is well assured of the felicity of his state, if his affaires be not sensible of such a losse.

INSTANTLY after *Villeroy* had yielded up the Ghost, the Chauncellor, the Keeper of the Seales, Mounsieur President *Iauin*, who knew true amities goe beyond a tombe, sayd to the King, he could not better witnesse he had loved the father, then by affecting, his.

The King made his love appeare by sending a message to *Mounsieur de Halincourt: that as he in Mounsieur Villeroy had lost a good father, so he should in him ever find a good Master.* His letters next day after his death on the thirteenth of December, expressed the sorrow of his Maiesty. *It is a losse* (these are his words) *which I particularly ressent, not onely as acknowledging, and having tryed in divers occasions, together with his fidelity & affection the effects of the long experience he had acquired in the mannage of my affaires, and how necessary,*

and profit able he was for me. There is no ſervice ſo great which is not well requited with ſuch wordes, and none can be found to be more excellent, for the honour of his Tombe. As it is an imprudence in al kind of diſcourſes to ſpeake things ſuperfluous, and from the purpoſe, ſo it is a treachery to omit the neceſſary. I might account my ſelfe culpable both of the one and other, if I ſhould forget that the King by the like effects of his affection commanded *Mounſieur* the Duke of *Ventadour* and *Mounſieur* the Marſhall De *L'Eſdiguieres*, to accord the difference betweene *Mounſieur D'Halincourt*, and *Mounſieur De S. Chaumont*, and that this difference was ſo incenſed, that although the wills of men were well united in what conſcerned the ſervice of his Maieſty, and common ſafety, yet paſſion diſuniteth the affections of many.

One whom the King drew from his Councell of ſtate to give him the ſuperintendency of *Iudicature*, and gouernment of this prouince, made an excellent remonſtrance upon this.

Whoſe

Whoſe lively reaſons, plum'd with words as ſtrong,
Through generous ſoules (as arrowes) paſſe along.

That it may appeare that the Kings Subiects in ſuch like diviſions ſhould not ſuffer their affections and iudgements to run after thoſe intereſts, which appertaine not to them, but reſerve them wholly, for the ſervice of his Maieſty, for publique neceſſities and their particular quiet; for all partialities finally conclude in ſeditions.

The name of *Villeroy* hath beene ſo celebrated every where, that the memory thereof ſhall eternally bee much honoured. Cardinals never are preſent at Ceremonies of funerals, but for Princes, yet here five, *Bervilacqua, Vicenzo, Bonzy, Vbaldino*, and *Vrſino* were preſent at his obſequies, and funerall Sermon, learnedly and elegantly pronounced by a Ieſuit in the Church of St. *Lewis* at *Rome*. The Archbiſhop of *Lyons*; who performed it ſo worthily, & who ſo well underſtands the Kings ſervice, tooke upon him the care of this dutie. There, *Italian Ladies*, many *Lords*, infinite other, *French* by birth, or affection were to be ſeene.

Behold what I have obſerved upon the

life of *Monſieur Villeroy*, that every one may make an eſtimate of his merits and ſervices. I was bound unto it, being unable to forget the account hee made of my writings, the good liking he delivered of them to *Henry the Great*, the pains he pleaſed to take; not to ſee, and ſlightly overlooke them (for every one can doe ſo:) but to correct them, which none could doe ſo well. I, in this have often found, that it is an incredible contentment to ſubmit ones labours to a great and ſincere judgement: For if he like them, others are not to be feared, if he approve them not, one will ſtrive to doe better: I deſired the one more than the other. For *approbation is very pleaſing, but correction more profitable.* I wiſh the gratitude of my duty may in this appeare: for *it is a kinde of ingratitude to tell, but to few, the good we have received from any one.*

The King wanteth not worthy men to ſupply this place, and *France* in the production of brave ſpirits, is the golden branch of *Sybilla*, which looſing one leafe, thruſts out another; but there goeth much time to make up a man of ſuch experience; beſides, it is an incomparable helpe to have been under the diſcipline

cipline of *Henry the Great*, and to have obſerved, that hee propoſed, what he would reſolve, and put in execution what hee had reſolved on.

THE proſperity wee enjoyed in the firſt yeares of his reigne, were likewiſe the effects of the great prudence and magnanimity of this prince, who had in the calme foreſeene from whence the ſtorme might come, and how to divert it. It had perhaps continued longer, had the like order beene ſtill obſerved, & thoſe who haye obſerved the difference of times and events, haye compared the advices of this great King, to the citie of *Athens*, whoſe clymate was ſo temperate, that in what part of the world ſoever one were, he had cauſe to be ſorry, he enjoyed not ſo ſweet, and wholeſome an abode.

THE loſſe of a good ſervant is not eaſily repaired, whole Ages are neceſſary to make *Villeroyes*. *Auguſtus* loſt two, which hee never found againe among ſo many millions of men in his Empire. His legions were as ſoone made up, as diſſolved: The ſea ſaw

new fleets, where it had ſwallowed up the old: Buildings riſe from out of their ruines, more pompous and ſplendid than they were; but all the time of his reigne he was heard to bewayle *Agrippa*, and *Mecenas*, finding not any worthy to ſupply their places.

I am deceived; The loſſe of a good ſervant is in ſome ſort repayred, when his counſels are followed, and the Maximes are obſerved, which his long experience authorized, as infallible principles of verity. It is not todeſirea ſlight happines to the ſtate, to wiſh that *Mounſieur Villeroy* were alwayes in employment by his good advice, ſince divine providence permitteth not him to be perſonally therein, and that it principally conſiſteth in the obſervation of that wholeſome counſell which he alwayes gave his maſters: *To prevent commotions, and not to neglect light faults, leſt they draw on great.* The firſt examples of juſtice and the firſt acts of revenge, are the beſt, and ſuch as fall upon the authours of ſedition, deſtroy it. *Phalaris* did onely one act of Iuſtice by ſhutting him in the brazen Bull, who invented it.

BVT

BVT it is enough: the reſt is in the Hiſtory, I have but this one thing to ſay. I muſt after an excellent & free diſcourſe publiſhed at *Roan* in the beginning of the aſſembly, affirme, that *Mounſieur Villeroy* was the *Firſt-mover* of ſtate-affaires, the miracle of *Prudence*, and *Wiſedome*, the Sphere from whence thoſe brave ſpirits deſcended, which received the Kings commands; And in a word, the *Archimus* who made all *Europe* move; and who as *Archimedes* breathed out his laſt, over his figures, and died in great and ſublime meditations for the glory of this Crowne, and the reformation of diſorders.

The end.

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